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President Takes Meek Stand On Faubus' Armed Defiance

The Democratic Party's Cover-Up

By The Editors

The Democratic Party has been the traditional party of racial oppression. Before 1865, it stood for slavery and secession. Since the defeat of the slave-holders, the Democratic Party has been the political haven and fortress of the vilest Negro-haters, exploiters and segregationists. This party is permeated with the stench of the slave pens and the scorched flesh of the lynched.

For leaders of the Democratic Party to put on a show of indignation at Eisenhower's miserable conduct in the Arkansas school integration crisis is brazen hypocrisy. Yet, the majority of the Democratic Advisory Committee, including former President Truman and twice-defeated presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson, have issued a statement taking Eisenhower to task for his handling of the Little Rock situation and chiding Democratic Governor Faubus.

This statement, of course, is an attempted cover-up for the whole past record of the Democratic Party, right up to the most recent struggle over the Civil Rights Bill in Congress. It was issued just three days after the influential New York Times had declared editorially that the Arkansas events had "plunged the Democratic Party into an excruciatingly embarrassing position" and that "the Democrats as a national organism run the immense risk of being considered hopelessly enmeshed in southern segregationism."

Certainly, Truman is the last man who should be criticizing a President on the issue of civil rights. He was President for almost eight years just before Eisenhower and there is no record of his taking any effective action whatsoever to enforce the Constitutional and human rights of the Negro people. Another Democrat, Franklin D. Roosevelt, held the lease of the White House for more than twelve years just before Truman. **In all those Democratic years — long enough for boys not yet born when Roosevelt first took office in 1933 to grow up, fight and die in Truman's "police action" in Korea — civil rights for Negroes, especially in the South, were openly trampled underfoot.**

Stevenson and the Dixiecrats

As for Stevenson, it suffices to point out that the only states he could win in the 1956 presidential election are those six centers of racial bigotry and violent opposition to school integration, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina, plus Truman's Missouri.

The Democratic Advisory Committee majority complain merely that Eisenhower "has failed to use the prestige and power of his office to rally the moral force of the country against defiance of law." **There is not the hint of a suggestion of any decisive form of action that Eisenhower might take to enforce integration in Little Rock and elsewhere in the South. There is no mention of sending U.S. troops to Little Rock to protect the Negro children, of taking over the National Guard in Arkansas, of arresting and prosecuting Faubus for his terrible crimes.** All that Truman and Stevenson would have Eisenhower exert is "moral force," a pitiful weapon against the carbines and machine guns of Faubus' federally-financed militia.

They said of Faubus himself merely that "he does not represent the position or policy of the Democratic party." But Jim Crow and segregation are, in fact, at the very heart of Democratic policy not only in the South but in the North. Democratic Mayor Wagner in New York City, in his own way, has been helping to block school

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Steel Locals Denounce Gov. Faubus

By Merlin Wesley

BUFFALO, Sept. 13 — At the regular monthly meeting yesterday of Local 1060, United Steel Workers of America, AFL-CIO, a resolution was passed denouncing the actions of Governor Faubus of Arkansas in blocking school integration in Little Rock. Local 1060 has a membership of 1600. The text of its resolution follows:

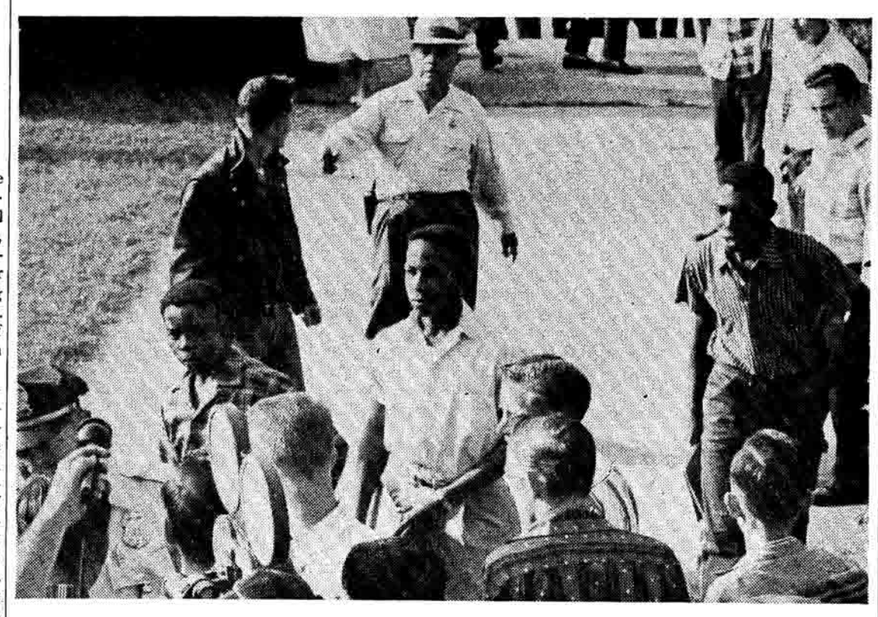
"Local 1060, United Steelworkers of America, condemns the actions of Gov. Faubus of Arkansas and all others who condone his actions in the recent school integration issue. Local 1060 further feels that the actions of Gov. Faubus are against the interests of organized labor which is based on the premise that no person shall be deprived of his basic civil rights because of his race, religion or nationality. It is further resolved that the members of Local 1060 call on George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, David J. McDonald, President of United Steelworkers of America, and the local CIO Council to publicly express their support of school integration and the fight of the Negro people for equal rights."

Last week Local 1330 of the steel workers in Youngstown denounced Faubus' use of the National Guard in Little Rock as "Hitlerite tactics." The Youngstown local also called on George Meany and David J. McDonald as well as on USWA District Director James P. Griffin to publicly express their support of school integration.

ECLC Demands Rights Enforcement

NEW YORK, Sept. 13 — Pointing out the serious menace to American democracy from violence against the Negro people in the South and the disregard of the Constitution in other places, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee today called on President Eisenhower to uphold the Constitutional rights of all citizens. "The decisions of the Supreme Court regarding the rights of citizens must be upheld if our democracy is to continue," the ECLC stated. The committee is sponsoring a mass meeting on Sept. 20 at Carnegie Hall "to honor and uphold the recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court."

Braving a Racist Mob



6 Negro students who attempted to enter No. Little Rock High School Sept. 9 are shown being repulsed by a gang of racists including studen s organized by adults. Police made no attempt to break up the racist gang and finally escor ted the Negroes away.

Kremlin Opens Attack On Daily Worker Editor

By Myra Tanner Weiss

SEPT. 18 — In a recent issue of Kommunist, "theoretical" organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Kremlin launched an attack on John Gates. This is the first time it has attacked Gates by name. According to Harry Schwartz in the Sept. 14 New York Times, the article in Kommunist labeled Gates a "revisionist" and condemned his views as expressed in an article last November in Political Affairs.

Gates replied that his views were "distorted" by Kommunist. "It doesn't surprise me that foreign Communists don't understand my views," Gates said in evident discouragement, "when so many Communists here don't either."

The Kremlin's attack on Gates follows the same pattern as its previous attacks on Joseph Clark, the former foreign editor of the Daily Worker who recently resigned from that paper and from the Communist Party. Clark was first attacked in the Soviet Union last February and frequently thereafter for his "revisionism." The campaign against Clark was intensified at the July meeting of the National Committee of the American CP where "the question of Clark" became a central issue.

A similar campaign is now being mounted in the CP against Gates as evidenced by letters printed in the readers' column of the Daily Worker. "Well, it's one gone and one to go," said O. H. Leeds in the Sept. 13 Daily Worker referring to Clark and Gates respectively.

GATES' STAND

The primary reason for the campaign against Gates — as for that against Clark before — is his advocacy of greater CP independence from the dictates of the Kremlin.

Kommunist declared that Gates wanted an organization that included "both supporters and opponents of Marxism-Leninism." Such a party would be based on "anarchistic principles of 'freedom' from discipline and from fulfillment of party decisions."

Actually Gates in his article last November asked for an organization that included supporters of different "interpretations" of "Marxism-Leninism." In reference to Marx and Lenin, Gates pointed out, "Those who object to the phrase in the resolution that we base ourselves on Marxist-Leninist principles 'as we interpret them' make a serious mistake on two grounds in my opinion. First, if we do not interpret them . . . they interpret themselves and become dogma, and second, if we do not interpret them it means we become dependent on the interpretations of others."

Gates also proposed last year to "take a new look" at democratic centralism. In the past, he pointed out, this meant "maximum centralization and minimum democracy." Gates did not ask for "freedom from discipline." He said, "Certainly we must have majority rule. . ."

Gates didn't even go so far in his plea for democracy "from top to bottom" in the Communist Party as to ask for the democratic right for the formation of factions, a right that Lenin always regarded as essential to the democratic processes of a revolutionary party. He simply asked for the creation of "a truly independent American working-class organization" and "an atmosphere of respect for and consideration of each other's views on their merits. . ."

Democracy in the Communist Party is a necessary pre-condition if programmatic differences are to be clarified. But these differences have never been clearly stated, let alone settled. At the CP Convention last February

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Refuses to Use His Full Powers to Enforce Civil Rights of Negro Students

By John Thayer

SEPT. 19 — Almost a week has passed since President Eisenhower had his private confab with Arkansas Governor Faubus, yet the rifles of the national guardsmen still bar the Negro children from entering Central High School in Little Rock. Gov. Faubus' orders to the troops still stand: "Keep the Negroes out."

It has become apparent that the beneficiary of the Eisenhower-Faubus conference was not the Negro children, illegally deprived of their schooling, but Gov. Faubus who illegally is doing the depriving. The conference got him off the hot spot at least until the close of the court hearing scheduled to begin on Sept. 20. He has thus been enabled by Eisenhower to "save face" for another week and, if the court ruling is stayed, for many months to come. That the price of thus saving Faubus' face is the loss of schooling by Negro children, the continued humiliation of them and 15 million Negroes in this country and the encouragement of the racist officials of the Deep South, does not matter to Eisenhower.

For several days during the Little Rock crisis Eisenhower was considering sending troops —to Syria. But as for federalizing the Arkansas national guard out of Faubus' hands, indicting him, ordering federal marshals to conduct the Negro children to their rightful school or, if necessary, sending federal troops to Little Rock—the very idea of any such step would have thrown the President off his golf game.

Two ominous notes were struck by Eisenhower after the meeting with Faubus. First was the President's statement about the conference. In it he said: "I recognize the inescapable responsibility resting upon the Governor to preserve law and order in his state." This was, in effect, giving way to the unconstitutional premise of Faubus and the Deep South governors. Their ace-in-the-hole against desegregation is the claim that they can use the state's "police power" to stop it because it would cause violence. **Eisenhower is thus saying that if Faubus really believed the entry of the nine Negro students would have caused violence he had an "inescapable duty" to act as he did.**

FAUBUS

(In his column of Sept. 19 the noted, conservative political

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Split Personalities

(The following is an editorial that appeared in the Sept. 15 New York Post. — Ed.)

Many months ago James Kutcher, the legless war veteran, was reinstated to his post with the Veterans Administration after a long fight for vindication against charges of disloyalty.

But the Controller General is still refusing to pay Kutcher the $25,000 he is owed in back pay for the period when he was unjustly exiled from his government post.

In short, the Veterans Administration now employs a loyal American named James Kutcher and the Controller General continues to impose his punishment on a dangerous character named James Kutcher.

Surely it is time every branch of the U.S. government stopped the war against Kutcher; the man to stop it is Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Smith Act Prosecutions Dropped in Pa., Conn.

Sept. 18 — Two groups of Smith Act victims won their freedom last week, after long years of persecution by the Federal government. Five Communist Party leaders in Connecticut and six in Pennsylvania have won their fight for civil liberties.

The Connecticut victory represents the first time an appeals court has upset a Smith Act conviction. The U.S. Supreme Court last June ordered the acquittal of five California Smith Act cases and a re-trial for nine others.

Judges Charles E. Clark and Sterry Waterman, writing the majority opinion, held that the Connecticut jury based its Smith Act conviction on insufficient evidence. The judges said that the government's "circumstantial proof" was "too full of gaps." They said, "We would mock both fair trial and free speech as meaningful constitutional guarantees were we to ignore the deficiencies of this record." Witch-hunt hysteria alone brought the jury to convict. Defendants were given three and four-year terms.

U.S. Attorney Simon S. Cohen, who prosecuted this case, said he was "amazed at the reversal."

NELSON FREED

Steve Nelson and five other Pennsylvania defendants won their fight for freedom when U. S. Attorney M. Malcolm Anderson, asked court permission to drop the indictment against these six Smith Act victims. They had been tried in 1953 and were sentenced to five years in prison. Anderson told the Court, "A careful re-examination of this case in the light of recent Supreme Court decisions has led us to conclude that we cannot successfully retry these defendants on the basis of evidence presently available to the Government."

The case against Steve Nelson had already been exposed as a frame-up when one of the witnesses against him proved to be a liar.

These victories in the fight against the Smith Act will encourage all who are fighting for civil liberties. The final victory will not be won, however, until all Smith Act victims, including those who have already served unjust prison terms, have their full rights restored to them. Among them are eighteen leading members of the Socialist Workers Party — the first Smith Act victims.

Even more urgent is the liberation of those now in prison. Gilbert Green, Henry Winston and Irving Potash should be freed immediately and all pending indictments should be quashed.

The Smith Act, passed in 1940 in the hysteria of World War II, attempted to transform ideas, spoken and written, into crimes. Proof of overt acts was never required by the government to convict a defendant of "conspiracy to overthrow the government." The law was intended and was used as a means of suppressing free speech and free press. As long as it remains a law, liberty is not secure.

Progress of School Integration Slowed in Border States

By George Lavan

In the heat of the struggle to rouse public opinion against Governor Faubus' use of troops to keep Negro children out of Little Rock's Central High School, fighters against Jim Crow may not have had time to notice a salient fact about school desegregation nationally—that it is slowing down to a crawl.

This month marks the opening of the fourth school year since the Supreme Court on May 17, 1954 declared the segregation of some 2,800,000 Negro schoolchildren in the South and border states to be unconstitutional. Since then desegregation to one degree or another, and in one form or another, has come to school districts containing 350,000 or 12% of those Negro children.

All those who love children and justice cannot but be gratified that these 350,000 are now in what the Southern Education Reporting Service, the acknowledged authority and source of factual information on school desegregation, calls "integrated situations." But there are several flies in the ointment. First, what is the rate of progress?

YEARLY RATE

In the school opening following the Supreme Court decision by a few months, school districts containing 100,000 or 3.6% of Negro children voluntarily desegregated. September 1955 saw the desegregation of districts containing 150,000 or 5.6%. It should be noted that though this school opening followed the high court's weak "implementation" decision by a few months this desegregation was also voluntary and plans for it had been drawn up by school boards prior to the high court's "deliberate speed" pronouncement.

Last year the desegregation figure dropped to 75,000 or less than 3%. This year the figure has slumped to the disastrous low of 25,000 or only 1%. It is obvious that if the present rate of decline is allowed to continue school integration will diminish to the merest trickle.

But even the above figures give a grossly exaggerated picture of how much school integration has taken place in the South and border states. For the statisticians use the terminological device of "integrated situation" in compiling their figures. A school district may have 1,000 Negro children; if one of them is assigned to a formerly lily-white school while the remaining 999 are kept in Jim Crow schools, the statisticians nevertheless consider that school district desegregated to some extent and the whole 1,000 Negro children are listed as being in an "integrated situation."

REVEALING FIGURES

Thus in Louisville, Kentucky, whose integration is being publicized as a model, there are far more Negro students in Jim Crow schools than in mixed schools, for in the mixed schools the integration is mostly token (two Negroes out of a student body of 943, 28 out of 1,663, 16 out of 1,133, nine out of 678, etc.).

In Washington, D.C., which integrated in 1954, there still were last year 20 all-Negro schools. Twenty-four schools could be listed as "mixed" only because they had four or less Negroes, or four or less whites. In Baltimore, which also desegregated in 1954, an estimated 19,000 Negro children are in mixed schools, but 48,000 remain in Jim Crow schools.

Much of the token integration that has taken place is blamed by the official apologists on housing segregation. As dwellers in Northern cities know, this is an important factor, but it is also a convenient excuse for school boards and politicians to extend the Jim Crow pattern in schooling even further and to gerrymander school districts to prevent real integration. Moreover, the housing pattern in the South and border states has never had the rigidity of the post-World War I Negro ghettos created by Northern prejudice.

The limited and token nature of much of the integration that has taken place since the Supreme Court decision and which makes a mockery of the figure of 350,000 Negro children in "integrated situations" must be blamed not on housing segregation as much as on the machinations of border-state politicians and school officials, both liberal and conservative.

LITTLE ROCK PLAN

This is brought out in the desegregation plan for Little Rock. A city of 110,000, its Negro population is between 25 and 30%. Yet the school board's integration plan provided for the integration of only ten Negro students this year. Similar token integration would take place in the various other grades over a ten-year period. Actually the plan was so gradual that it would be at least 25 years before anything approaching real integration would be reached—that is assuming all went well.

But this is the kind of integration that the ruling powers in this country have decided on. It has, from their points of view several merits: 1) it allows the State Department to issue propaganda for foreign consumption that racism is steadily being destroyed in the U.S.; 2) it is designed to keep the Negro people and their allies satisfied that some progress is being made; 3) it is confined to the border states and upper South thus not directly challenging the Deep South racists; 4) it does not proceed so fast or thoroughly that it can't be stopped at some point if political conditions change.

That the Deep South politicians and their stooge, Gov. Faubus, will not accept even this minimum token enforcement of the Supreme Court decision but will use the National Guard to prevent it, came as a great shock.

Wm. H. Stringer, head of the Christian Science Monitor's Washington Bureau, writes in

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...Kremlin Opens Attack On Gates

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resolutions were passed with unanimity. Differences were concealed, but they were not resolved.

HOW UNANIMOUS?

As the crisis in the Communist Party breaks out into the open once more, both sides quarrel over who is for the decisions of the February Convention. When Clark resigned last week, he said, "I was among those who greeted the progress recorded at the last convention of the Communist Party. . ." However, "the hope and promise of that convention have not been fulfilled."

John Gates also hailed the February convention. In fact, the Gatesites contend that they are the real partisans of the convention resolution. But so do the other groupings — William Foster and the group around Eugene Dennis. **The National Administration Committee of the CP, in its statement answering Clark's resignation, Sept. 12, said "The NAC will not be diverted from implementing the decisions of the 16th national convention."**

Behind common declarations of support for the convention decisions is the fact that Gates wants a "break" from Kremlin domination. That is why he has drawn the attack of the Kremlin bureaucrats. His opponents — both of the Foster and Dennis groupings in the leadership — are determined to continue the CP as an obedient servant of the Soviet bureaucracy. That has been the role the CP has played ever since its Stalinization in the 1920's.

But Gates has not yet broken with the essence of the Stalinist program. He wants organizational independence from the Kremlin without thinking through the programmatic nature of Stalinism.

For Stalinism is the very opposite of revolutonary socialism. It is a variety of class-collaboration. In the U.S. it leads to "coalition" politics — that is, support for the Democratic Party.

Because Gates could never couple his demand for greater CP independence from Moscow's control with a class-struggle program in the U.S., he found himself in isolation from the revolutionary-minded sections of the CP rank and file. They associated Gates and his wing with the worst manifestation of "coalition" politics in the U.S.

SOURCE OF CP CRISIS

But the Daily Worker editor is not the only one to feel a growing isolation. The CP apparatus' base is narrowing. As the National Organization Secretary, Sid Stein, pointed out in his report to the July National Committee meeting, "Our hopes that the convention [last February] would mark a change from decline to growth have not yet materialized. Losses have continued both among leading personnel as well as in the ranks."

The source of the crisis, Stein said, is commonly understood to be the "weakening of what some of us call our moorings or our ideological foundations." However, the convention failed to answer the many unanswered questions of Communist workers. And the National Committee did no better. The NC in fact acted on the premise that the party could be unified without tackling the root-cause of the ideological crisis — namely, the revelation of the crimes of Stalinism.

Instead the NC sought to consolidate its hold on the party on the basis of advancing such questions as the banning of nuclear tests. A grouping around Eugene Dennis and Sid Stein took the helm of the party on the basis of such a "program." This development is only an expression of their ideological bankruptcy — a bankruptcy that flows from their subservience to the Soviet oligarchy.

"Two extreme tendencies have emerged to contest the basic line adopted by our 16th National convention," said Stein. On the one hand are those who "question the concept of peaceful transition" to socialism. But Foster was gently reminded of his contribution to this idea "in its initial stages." On the other side are those who "were completely disoriented . . . and have magnified every mistake."

STAND ON HUNGARY

No event had a more profound effect on the world, the Soviet orbit as well as the capitalist world, in the past year than the revolution in Hungary. Yet here is what Stein had to say of this event in his report which was adopted by the NC in its "totality." "And while there has been both criticism and praise of Comrade Aptheker's book on Hungary," Stein said, "no one can deny that this work gets into the facts, presents ideas and is very much worth our attention and study."

The crisis in the Communist Party can only deepen with such programmatic dodges. Stein says, "Ideology is, of course, related to organization in that it demonstrates the need for our party. The big events of the past year in the international and domestic arena are current evidence of this need for a party with a Marxist-Leninist understanding of the class struggle."

Ideology more than "demonstrates the need for a party." It is the party — if that party belongs to the working class. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union doesn't have to worry about an "ideology" very much. It holds power by police-state methods.

The American Communist Party is a part of the working class. Those it would seek to attract have only their hope for a socialist future. Necessary to that hope is a party that is honest, democratic and scientific. Dash that hope to the ground and what is left? Can one face struggle, hard work and even persecution without that?

The National Committee hasn't explained how the admitted crimes of the Soviet bureaucracy were possible. It hasn't probed the bureaucracy's crimes in the field of a program of struggle for the working class in the capitalist countries. **Can any serious socialist think for a moment that this monstrous repressive apparatus could commit its crimes against the Soviet working class and at the same time yield a revolutionary ideology based on Marx and Lenin — Stalin's exact opposites? Before one talks of Gates' "revisionism" shouldn't one explore how Stalin, and with him the American Communist Party, overthrew Lenin?**

Daily Worker To Retrench

The Daily Worker announced, Sept. 18, that it is compelled to reduce its issue to half its former size, from eight to four pages, four instead of five days a week. The 12-page week-end Worker will be issued on Fridays. This retrenchment was necessitated by a "constantly falling circulation and a virtual ban on advertising has increased our deficits..." The $100,000 Spring fund drive has so far yielded only $45,000.

Silenced CP Members Issue Appeal to Ranks

An Open Letter to Members Of the Communist Party:

This protest is addressed to you by five workers, most of us union members and Communist Party members since our teens with an honorable record of participation in strikes and other working class struggles for the past two decades. We are forced to take this means of protest because of the illegal, arbitrary actions of the Los Angeles County leadership of the CP over the past few months. The impossibility of regaining our rights through normal party channels leaves us no other alternative for making our case known to you and to the socialist public.

Here, briefly, are the circumstances involved in the violation of our elementary democratic rights. What do other party comrades think of them?

* * *

Like so many other socialists the world over, we were shocked and shaken by the Khrushchev report and its revelations of police state terror and the torture and murder of honest Communists, which has produced a continuing crisis within the American party. We had to face up to the question: what had gone wrong? It became obvious to us for the first time that instead of moving steadily toward Socialism, as we had hoped and believed, the Soviet leaders had somewhere, somehow, made serious mistakes which led to a monstrous travesty of the Socialist idea.

Our search for the causes of this grievous aberration soon included an investigation of the works of Trotsky. We had shunned and never read them because they were banned by the Communist Party. We recognize that it was unworthy of critical-minded Marxists to conform to such narrow-minded proscriptions. No one will ever again induce us to repeat that mistake.

We asked ourselves this question: if Stalin and his closest co-workers had deserted Marxism-Leninism, then was it not obligatory for us to reconsider the views of Trotsky? Possibly they were correct. At least, he had turned out to be better informed, more honest and far-sighted than the present leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

To find out what Trotsky's real views had been and to obtain some of his books we contacted members of the Socialist Workers Party. Our discussions with them were so fruitful and interesting that eventually we set up a discussion group. It included five of us, two members of the SWP, an ex-member of the Communist Party who had recently resigned to join the SWP, one member of the County Committee of the CP, and one member of the California State Committee of the CP.

EXCHANGE IDEAS

During the two months of its existence this group exchanged ideas on many matters from the source of the Soviet errors to a correct program for a Socialist United States and the most effective ways of bringing closer together all the genuine Socialist forces in this country.

At the final session of the L. A. County convention of the Communist Party in March 1957, the member of the L. A. County Committee who had been meeting with us from the first made a half-hour speech denouncing our discussion group as a "conspiracy," organized under the discipline of the Socialist Workers Party by "paid agents" for the purpose of destroying the Communist Party. She was immediately answered by one of us at the convention. It subsequently developed that, far from being spontaneous, this denunciation with its mixture of lies and half-truths, had been organized in close collaboration with the Los Angeles Organizer of the CP, Dorothy Healy.

Several weeks later we were attacked as disruptive elements in our club by the L. A. leadership. These leaders refused to debate any ideas with us, or even to point out wherein our objections to policy were wrong. They insisted that the criticisms we had put forward be condemned solely on the basis that they came from a contaminated source. That source, they insisted, was Trotskyism. And though the Trotskyists lacked physical horns and tail, they nonetheless personified the Devil.

MARXIST-LENINISTS

Actually, the fundamental source of our views was Marx and Lenin but we could not expect them to acknowledge that.

In any event, we replied, we did not intend again to put ourselves into the trap of absolute faith in sacred writings and infallible authorities but were determined to examine all ideas and policies on the basis of their merit and to associate freely with other Socialists.

This heresy proved more than the L. A. leadership could tolerate. Having failed to make us recant, they took measures to excommunicate us in defiance of the newly adopted party constitution. That constitution provides that no member shall be penalized without formal charges being preferred, a trial being held, and the accused given the right to present witnesses in his defense. All these safe-guards were junked while the representatives of the District Council coerced a majority of our club into voting to suspend us from membership.

We promptly appealed by letter. The new constitution over which the last national convention labored so diligently says that all appeals shall be acted upon within sixty days by the higher bodies. More than sixty days have now passed. We have not even received an acknowledgment of our appeal.

So far as we know, this is the first case of its kind since the passage of the new constitution. It is a clear test of the genuineness of the promises made by the national and local leaderships of the party to give full democracy to the ranks. The manner in which our case has been handled, shows, we believe, that far from reexamining the former autocratic methods of operation and changing the tragic mistakes of the past, they are stubbornly persisting in them.

* * *

We have been placed outside the boundaries of party activity against our will. But we do not intend to let the matter rest at that or to keep silent. We have a duty to make the facts in our case known so that party members who would otherwise remain in the dark can pass judgment upon them and take steps to correct them.

Why is it so criminal to associate with Socialist Workers Party members, who support socialism, when it is permitted and encouraged to associate with Democrats, Republicans and other supporters of capitalism? Has the CP leadership become so weak in theory, in organizational ability, and in the capacity to lead that it dare not tolerate, despite all that has happened, the slightest questioning of its motives and actions by the rank and file? Is it so lacking in socialist principle and revolutionary integrity that it will completely disregard its own constitution and stoop to the most despicable means to maintain itself in office? Can these leaders be corrected or changed by the ranks?

ASK CONSIDERATION

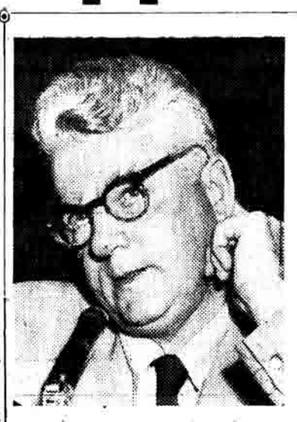
These are some of the questions raised by our case. We ask other party members to consider and check these facts. Let them call for an accounting from the leadership of their conduct and demand a correction of the undemocratic and unconstitutional practices against us. What has already been done to us can be done to others tomorrow.

If this protest helps to arouse and alert those forces in the party which are determined to make it thoroughly democratic and bring it back to a Leninist basis, we feel that it has served a useful purpose, despite all the abuse that has already been hurled in our direction.

C and J
W
B and B

P.S. We ask any party members who are interested in discussing the problems in our case further to get in touch with us through the following address: Edward Davis, Box 132, Buena Park, Calif.

(Copies sent to Peoples World, Daily Worker, National Guardian, The Militant and other labor press.)



Communist Party leaders Eugene Dennis (left) and John Gates. At recent meeting of the Communist Party National Committee, a group around Dennis emerged in control of party. Since then, Gates has come under attack of Kommunist, a leading Moscow CP publication. (See story, page one.)

World Events

A MONTREAL "TEA PARTY" was organized Sept. 13 when a Canadian freighter arrived from strike-torn Murdochville, Quebec, with a load of scab copper. About 200 men and women swarmed aboard ship and dumped the cargo into the St. Lawrence River. They poured paint over the ship's engines, smashed the glass in the ship's wheelhouse and ripped the radio from its moorings. Some pickets carried signs, one of which read, "Gaspe Copper is Bloody Copper." The United Steel Workers union in Murdochville has been on strike since March 11.

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KING SAUD OF SAUDI ARABIA, U.S.-backed monarch, reportedly warned Eisenhower that Arab countries interpreted threats against Syria as U.S. "interference" in the Mideast. State Department officials denied that such a message had been sent, but Dulles modified considerably his anti-Syrian statements.

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TWO POLISH YOUTH PAPERS, Po Prostu and Sztandar Mlodych are in trouble with the authorities. Several articles in the popular Marxist student paper Po Prostu were censored and the fall issue delayed. Discussions between editors and Polish Communist leaders are now taking place to determine the future of these weeklies. The CP central committee reportedly thinks the youth papers should concentrate more on youth problems and less on general criticism of Poland's internal problems.

* * *

THE "SAFE" LIMIT FOR RADIATION EXPOSURE will probably be reduced this fall by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission by one-third. The AEC previously had insisted its higher limit was "safe." Despite this admission of past error, a series of new tests of atom bombs will be held in the spring of 1958. This announcement caused "anger and despair" in Japan. The Japanese cabinet said it would file a "strong protest" with the U.S. Ambassador.

* * *

THE SOVIET UNION WON MANY YOUNG FRIENDS at the Moscow Youth Festival, according to Alan Parker, who reported the festival in the Christian Science Monitor, Sept. 12. One feature was the special passport that made entrance easy. "It is well known abroad," said Parker, "how difficult it is for a foreigner to enter the United States." Youth at the festival in addition to cheap rates, were given the following free services: Laundry, haircutting, shoe and clothing repair, local transportation (except taxis and river boats), all excursions, exhibits and even tickets to the Bolshoi Theater with all seats reserved for the visitors.

* * *

THE ASSASSIN OF GUATEMALA'S PRESIDENT, Castillo Armas, last July was at first identified as an international agent of the Communists. In the Sept. 12 N.Y. Times, the foreign Minister is quoted as saying that the assassin proved to have been an individual "very confused" both by communism and mysticism. The Communist charge thins out as the months go by.

Joseph Clark Hits Moscow Trials And Smith Act Frame-Ups

(The following excerpts are from a letter by Joseph Clark published in the Sept. 14 New York Times. Clark recently resigned as Daily Worker foreign editor and from the Communist Party. — Ed.)

"It was a striving for justice that impelled me and others to join the Communist Party. It was a revulsion against the injustices of Stalinist communism which impelled so many of us to leave. Nothing appalled me more about the Soviet Union than the suppression of 'dangerous' books and ideas. Nothing made me more ashamed than learning that the trials of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin and other Bolshevik leaders were dastardly frame-ups, as were the Rajk, Kostov and Slansky trials.

"But in our own country there are men in jail whose 'crime' is political association and connection with 'dangerous' books and thoughts. I have in mind, especially, two old personal friends, Gilbert Green and Henry Winston. (I do not wish to infer that they are sympathetic to my present views). Both are serving five-year sentences under the Smith Act and, additionally, three-year sentences for contempt of court. . . .

"It could only help our country if Winston and Green received amnesty . . . from those who can open prison doors and allow them to rejoin their families."

"The Revolution Betrayed"

REVOLUTION BETRAYED by Leon Trotsky. Reprinted by Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York, 3, N.Y. 308 pages. Paper: $2.00.

Trotsky begins his analysis of the Soviet Union in The Revolution Betrayed with an appraisal of the accomplishments of the first successful workers revolution. "Gigantic achievements in industry," Trotsky wrote, "enormously promising beginnings in agriculture, an extraordinary growth of the old industrial cities and a building of new ones, a rapid increase of the number of workers, a rise in cultural level and cultural demands —such are the indubitable results of the October revolution, in which the prophets of the old world tried to see the grave of human civilization. With the bourgeois economists we have no longer anything to quarrel over. Socialism has demonstrated its right to victory; not on the pages of Das Kapital but in an industrial arena comprising a sixth part of the earth's surface —not in the language of dialectics, but in the language of steel, cement and electricity."

Today Soviet industry is second only to the United States in size. But this industrial growth, due to the liberation of the productive forces from the laws of the profit system and because of the organization of a planned economy, had as its starting point one of the most backward technologies in the capitalist world. **The material ground did not yet exist for the freedom and equalitarianism of a socialist society. In his book Trotsky lays bare the basic contradiction that resulted from this material poverty — namely, the antagonism between the growing bureaucratic caste and the working class. He shows that this antagonism is the true cause of the totalitarian control exercised over culture and politics by the Stalinist regime.**

The brilliance of Trotsky's analysis can best be seen in the final chapter of The Revolution Betrayed where he discusses the future of the Soviet Union. He said, "Without a planned economy the Soviet Union would be thrown back for decades. In that sense the bureaucracy continues to fulfill a necessary function. But it fulfills it in such a way as to prepare an explosion of the whole system which may completely sweep out the results of the revolution. The workers are realists. Without deceiving themselves with regard to the ruling caste—at least with regard to its lower tiers which stand near to them —they see in it the watchman for the time being of a certain part of their own conquests. They will inevitably drive out the dishonest, impudent and unreliable watchman as soon as they see another possibility. For this it is necessary that in the West or the East another revolutionary dawn arise."

FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE

That dawn came in the post-World War II period—especially with the victory in China. The workers in the Soviet orbit were stirred with new hope. Capitalism no longer looked invincible. The first signs of the political revolution appeared.

In anticipating this revolution, Trotsky wrote, "It is not a question of substituting one ruling clique for another, but of changing the very methods of administering the economy and guiding the culture of the country. Bureaucratic autocracy must give place to Soviet democracy. A restoration of the right of criticism, and a genuine freedom of elections, are necessary conditions for the further development of the country. This assumes a revival of freedom of Soviet parties, beginning with the party of Bolsheviks, and a resurrection of the trade unions. The bringing of democracy into industry means a radical revision of plans in the interests of the toilers. Free discussion of economic problems will decrease the overhead expense of bureaucratic mistakes and zigzags... 'Bourgeois norms of distribution' will be confined within the limits of strict necessity, and, in step with the growth of social wealth, will give way to socialist equality. Ranks will be immediately abolished. The tinsel of decorations will go into the melting pot. The youth will receive the opportunity to breathe freely, criticize, make mistakes, and grow up. Science and art will be free of their chains. And, finally, foreign policy will return to the traditions of revolutionary internationalism."

These lines were written in 1936. Today they are beginning to appear on the banner of revolutionary militants throughout the Soviet orbit. Trotsky's Marxist analysis forecast correctly the struggle that is unfolding today.

—C. R. Hubbard

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Calendar Of Events

Detroit

Fri., Sept. 27, 8 p.m. — A talk on Little Rock and the new civil rights law. 3737 Woodward. Ausp.: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

Los Angeles

Fri., Sept. 27, 8:15 p.m. — A Socialist's View of Anthropology, first in a fall series of five forums: "How Did Animals Become Human?" Subsequent titles: "Is Competitive Struggle Necessary for Survival?" "Was at Hand or Brain Decisive in the Making of Humanity — What Part Did the Using and Making of Tools Play," "How Did Speech and Thought Come Into Existence," "What is the Labor Theory of Human Origin." Speaker: Evelyn Reed. 1702 E. 4th St. Discussion and Refreshments.

Socialist Youth Issue New Publication

An event of the first-rate importance in the current regroupment discussion in the radical movement is the appearance this month of a new American socialist youth publication. Called "The Young Socialist," the four-page tabloid monthly newspaper is being published in New York and distributed nationally. It is the only national radical youth newspaper published independent of any adult organization.

An editorial in the first issue, dated October, declares that the pages of the Young Socialist are open to all those who wish to discuss the problems of socialism, both national and international, and any other questions facing young people.

"We hope," says the editorial "that this paper can help advance the fight of all radicals and progressives for a better America, and a better, more peaceful and just world. The forward march of America's Negro people; the outspoken demands among students for a restoration of civil liberties and academic freedom on the campus; the world-wide protest campaign against the poisoning of the very air we breathe with radioactive material; the militant actions of the young workers in the shops and factories across the country—these will be events we will report."

The paper is sponsored by young people from different groups and different traditions. "We do not claim to offer," state the editors, "over-simplified dogmatic answers to complicated questions; we do not think we can solve all problems by slapping ready-made labels on complex events." They express the hope that the Young Socialist will play a role in stimulating discussion out of which will grow "a broad and revitalized militant socialist youth movement that can act in a progressive way on the campuses and in the factories in bringing the ideas of socialism to America's youth."

The paper's first issue contains reports on the formation and activities of socialist youth clubs or discussion groups in a number of cities, including New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco, Berkeley, Denver and Los Angeles.

The issue features an evaluation of the recent Ann Arbor congress of the National Student Association and a round-up article on the role of Negro youth in the integration battle as the schools opened in the South. **The article points to some practical ways of aiding the Southern freedom fighters which should be organized by radical youth in the North.**

An article by Shane Mage on the Senate labor probe is one of the finest pieces of writing on that subject that has yet appeared anywhere. An example of the style: "For six months now we have been treated to a steady procession before the TV cameras of labor leaders, prostitutes, labor leaders, gamblers, labor leaders, corrupt public officials, labor leaders, racketeers — and the end is not in sight."

The latest details on the Army "security risk" program are reported and clarified in an article which should be of immediate interest to all radical youth who are subject to the draft.

The case of the five young Spanish seamen now held in a U.S. jail after having jumped ship in San Diego in an attempt to escape Franco's dictatorship is reported in an article from California.

Extensive excerpts from the Maurice Pelter report on the Moscow Youth Festival are carried in this issue. The Pelter report—of remarkably frank discussions with Soviet youth—has attracted wide attention in the radical movement since it was first published in Peter Fryer's London Newsletter.

Subscriptions, articles and comments to the new publication can be sent to Young Socialist, 218 7th Ave., New York, 11, N.Y. Subscription price is $1.00 per year, $.50 for six months.

Subscription $3 per year $1.50 for 6 months Foreign: $4.50 per year; $2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: $3.50 per year; $1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

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The UN Action on Hungary

On Sept. 14, the United Nations voted 60-to-10 with ten abstentions to condemn the Soviet Union for its intervention into the affairs of Hungary and its suppression of the Hungarian revolution.

We, for our part, are for the Hungarian workers and against the Stalinist police oppressors. We hailed the uprising last October. As all revolutionary socialists did, we saw the formation of workers, councils and the launching of a general strike as an expression of a genuine revolution for workers' democracy.

But all who love freedom, who oppose any oppression and oppressor, and who work for the freedom of man in all parts of the world, were sickened at the hypocritical spectacle in the UN General Assembly debate last week.

Chief instigator of this show of concern for freedom was the U.S. delegation headed by John Cabot Lodge. How much deception and self-deception must have been required for this delegation to shout against intervention by a foreign power into the affairs of another nation! At that very moment the U.S. State Department was threatening Syria with the Eisenhower Doctrine — the power given the President last spring to use armed force in the Mideast against the national independence aspirations of the Arab people. How would such intervention constitute less of an interference of a foreign power in the affairs of another nation than the Kremlin's interference in Hungary?

What mental gymnastics were needed by Lodge and his associates to whisk out of sight U.S. support, financially and with arms, of the French suppression of the Algerian people? What rationalization did they have to think up to feel an indignation at Soviet repressions in Hungary and say nothing about imperialist torture and massacres in Algeria? Apparently it was enough to pretend that these items were separate points on the agenda.

Has Lodge ever expressed compassion for the people of Algeria? Has he ever offered to help them? Washington has the power to halt the brutal suppression of the Algerian people by French imperialism by merely withdrawing the financial and military means which makes this suppression possible. But it has never lifted a finger in that direction.

Isn't it monstrous — enough to embarrass ordinary hardened criminals — to vote with Spain against the suppression of popular revolutions? Didn't these Spanish delegates get their voting power by suppressing the workers of Spain with the help of the intervention of foreign powers such as Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy? Isn't it a bit too revolting to join with Franco's men to shed tears for the oppressed people of Hungary?

The workers in Hungary know what the suppression of freedom means. So do the workers in the capitalist world. Those who voted for Hungary's freedom in the UN have never given an ounce of freedom to anyone. The only liberty that touches their hearts is freedom for themselves to make profits without the interference of unions, of national independence fighters in the colonies or of any one else. The "freedom" they want is freedom to enslave the world.

Best Wishes to 'Young Socialist'

An important development in the radical movement in the U.S. is the appearance of the Young Socialist, a monthly newspaper published by youth "from different socialist groups and different traditions" in order to promote the idea of building a united movement of all militant socialist youth.

The paper does not present a worked-out program on the many questions facing the socialist movement. The editors take the view that the ideas and positions of the socialist youth movement must be developed through a process of discussion and experience of the socialist youth themselves in a united movement that will be independent of all the present organized radical groups and welcome youth from all socialist tendencies into its ranks.

It is clear, however, from the editorial and various articles of the first issue, that the paper stands in unambiguous opposition to American capitalism, to its crimes against the Negro people, to its fascist allies abroad like Franco, to its witch hunt against political dissidents at home, to its attempt to stifle free thought and discussion by American youth, and to its attacks against the labor movement.

The paper also manifests the concern of socialist youth for a free discussion on the recent developments in the Soviet orbit, and its support of the Soviet workers' struggles for democracy against bureaucratic rule. At the same time it is in opposition to any attempts by U.S. Big Business and its allies to restore the capitalist system in the Soviet orbit countries. In this connection it views the Hungarian workers' uprising as an independent, socialist struggle for workers democracy.

Most gratifying are the reports in the first issue of radical youth organizing themselves into united and active groups in a number of cities across the country. To us this is a sign that despite the long years of witch hunting and cold-war reaction and the blight of conformity, young people are again finding the spirit of bold inquiry, independent critical thought and the search for a better future. These are only the first signs but we are confident they will increase and they point to a revitalization of the socialist movement which has so long gone without reinforcement from new generations of vigorous fighters for socialism.

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The Struggle in the Teamsters

By Fred Halstead

The crying need of the 1.4 million workers in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is for workers democracy within the organization — rank-and-file participation and rank-and-file control.

They didn't get democracy from the late IBT president Daniel J. Tobin, who referred to the workers as "rabble." They've never had democracy from present IBT president Dave Beck, the man who once boasted: "For every enemy I have made in the labor movement I have made a hundred friends in the Chamber of Commerce." And they aren't going to get it from IBT presidential aspirant James Hoffa who, like Tobin and Beck, regards the union as his personal business enterprise, relies heavily on hired "muscle" and bases his power on a machine of $200-per-week-plus-expenses business agents.

HOFFA'S OPPOSITION

Hoffa is still the leading contender to replace Beck at the Teamsters convention, Sept. 30. His opposition, however, has had some success in getting endorsements in a number of key areas and has been encouraged by the activities of the McClellan committee and the top leaders of the AFL-CIO.

The three candidates receiving most publicity in their campaigns for Beck's $50,000-a-year post are Thomas L. Hickey, an International vice-president based in New York; Thomas J. Haggerty, secretary-treasurer of the Chicago Milk Wagon Local 735; and John F. Shelley, from San Francisco, who is also a U.S. Congressman (Democrat). These three have reportedly agreed that the strongest one at the convention will receive the votes of the other two.

OLD-TIME TOBIN MEN

Hickey and Haggerty are old-time Tobin men. They extract lush privileges from the dues of a mass of underpaid workers whom they never consult and rarely "service," as well as from a much smaller, and relatively privileged group — generally salesmen-drivers organized on a craft basis. **Their power is based on armies of appointees and on machines in the privileged sections. They were allowed free reign in their respective areas under Tobin and Beck, to whom they paid homage, per capita and levies of "muscle" when the overlord needed it to put down rank-and-file revolts elsewhere.**

Their chief objection to Hoffa, until recently, was that he wasn't satisfied to remain in his own territory, but tried to muscle in on theirs.

WHY AGAINST HOFFA

Their new objection to Hoffa is that he has been marked for exposure by the McClellan Committee. Their main slogan in this campaign is that the selection of Hoffa as Teamsters president could mean the expulsion of the union from the AFL-CIO. Their program is simply to cooperate with the other bureaucrats in the AFL-CIO who are cooperating with the Senate labor-probe committee. **They propose no democratic reforms, have organized no rank-and-file caucuses and have criticized none of the bureaucratic crimes of Hoffa and Beck beyond those few exposed by the Senate committee.**

JAMES HOFFA

Two possible candidates, who are not campaigning openly, are Einar Mohn, vice-president in charge of the Teamsters' Washington headquarters, and John F. English, secretary-treasurer of the International Union. Both are simply office workers, completely loyal to the corrupt bureaucracy. Mohn is very close to Dave Beck and English was Tobin's auditor.

MEANY'S THREAT

AFL-CIO head George Meany has "made it plain," according to the Sept. 10 N.Y. Times, "that the merged labor movement would expel the ... Teamsters if it elected James R. Hoffa as president to succeed Dave Beck."

That any one of the five anti-democratic opponents of Hoffa mentioned above would apparently be acceptable to Meany is proof enough that the Teamsters ranks can expect no help from the AFL-CIO tops in the fight for democracy within the IBT. The AFL-CIO Executive Council is simply running scared in an attempt to maintain "respectability" in newspaper publicity and in the eyes of the capitalist class. In doing so, the AFL-CIO leaders give aid and comfort to the anti-labor Senators and add momentum to their drive for anti-union legislation and government interference in the internal affairs of the unions.

WHAT TO FIGHT FOR

In order to satisfy the Senate probers, Meany threatens to expel 1.4 million workers from the AFL-CIO. For the crimes of certain of the top bureaucrats the entire membership is to be expelled, the bargaining position of the workers weakened and the labor movement exposed to jurisdictional warfare.

The only way the AFL-CIO tops could really help eliminate corruption within the IBT would be to throw their full weight behind a drive for democracy within the union and at the same time defend the Teamsters against the witchhunting and interference of the McClellan committee.

This, of course, would require a drive for rank-and-file participation and control within the other AFL-CIO unions, something which the AFL-CIO leaders fear more than they fear attacks from the Senators.

Clearly, it is up to the Teamsters ranks to do the job themselves. They can make use of the split between the bureaucrats and of the publicity now centered on the Teamsters to raise their own demands and to organize themselves for the fight for rank-and-file control. But neither Hoffa, his publicized opponents for the presidency, the AFL-CIO leaders nor the McClellan committee are going to help the ranks win control of the Teamsters union. The fight for union democracy will have to be independent of those forces.

The Philadelphia papers report that at a meeting of Teamsters Local 470 this week, members turned out in large numbers. The bureaucrats expected to get an endorsement from the meeting for their choice for the IBT presidency. **They were forced to adjourn the stormy meeting without an endorsement, however, when the ranks insisted on raising a demand for rank-and-file election of shop stewards in the local itself. That's a step in the right direction.**

Seek Democracy In Steel Union

The Steel Workers Dues Protest Committee held a three day national conference in Pittsburgh ending Sept. 15. Central points discussed were union democracy and plans to elect DPM candidates to office in local unions in preparation for a challenge to the McDonald machine at the steel workers convention in September 1958.

The conference approved resolutions calling for changes in the union constitution. These would allow all candidates to appoint election watchers; permit longer periods after elections to challenge results; require numbered ballots in all union elections; require election tellers to be elected by members of a local rather than appointed by its officers; require publication of a local-by-local tabulation of votes; shorten terms of office for International and district officers from four years to two, and require that delegates to union conventions in all cases be elected by referendum ballots.

Registering at the conference were 117 persons from 17 states. For many, this was the first contact with opposition forces outside their own areas.

...Democrats Cover Up

(Continued from page 1)

integration and a bill to make housing discrimination illegal in America's largest city.

If the Democratic Advisory Committee were really serious about repudiating Faubus and his ilk, they would propose and campaign for his expulsion from the Democratic Party. Further, they would fight for the expulsion of Senators McClellan and Fulbright of Arkansas and of every Democratic public official, South and North, who is opposing or impeding racial integration and the full enforcement of civil rights.

There wouldn't be much left of the Democratic Party if the Democratic liberals like Truman and Stevenson were to use their "moral force" inside their own party to rid it of its rabid white supremacists. The most stable base of the Democratic Party is the "solid South," the solid Jim-Crow elements of the South.

One striking fact about the Democratic Advisory Committee statement is its failure to take a stand on civil rights, including school integration, as such. It criticizes Faubus and Eisenhower for failure to uphold the law, not failure to defend elementary human rights. Even as Truman, Stevenson and their associates attempt a shabby political maneuver by criticizing Eisenhower in the Little Rock events, they carefully refrain from offending their Southern racist political partners by keeping silent about the Jim-Crow system and school integration.

Opposition to racial bigotry and oppression is not a matter merely of Constitutional amendments, federal laws and Supreme Court decisions. The founding document of the United States, the Declaration of Independence of 1776, stated: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

The revolutionary founders of this nation considered human equality and human rights as "self-evident" truths and "unalienable." They exist as the innate conditions of any just society and can never be taken away except through the operation of unjust laws and oppressive government.

But the concern of the Democratic Party's leadership is with "law" not human rights. Indeed, they have tolerated for decades the segregation laws maintained in the South by their closest political colleagues. Presumably, if the federal laws were to establish legal segregation, then the Trumans and Stevensons would be just as avid for their enforcement.

Anyone who preaches or advocates support of the Democratic Party or any of its candidates is giving aid and comfort to the political machine that keeps the South in the bonds of the Jim-Crow system. The Democratic Party cannot be divorced from its Southern wing. Indeed, that wing is the most substantial and representative of the Democratic Party.

..President and Faubus

(Cntinued from page 1)

analyst Walter Lippman tries to explain away Eisenhower's statement as follows: "It is not possible Eisenhower meant to say any such thing. For if he had meant to say it, he would have been giving consent to an extraordinary precedent — that if a governor of a state says that he thinks that the enforcement of a federal law will provoke disorderly protests, he may use military force not to put down the disorderly protests but to nullify federal law.)

Then, the day after meeting Faubus, Eisenhower attended church in Newport and went out of his way to praise the preacher and reiterate his own "you cannot legislate morality" statements. According to the N.Y. Times (Sept. 16), "He expressed this view just after he had heard a navy chaplain caution in a sermon against hasty judgment of rights or wrongs in the integration controversy."

LOOPHOLE FOR RACISTS

From the preparations being made for the injunction hearing it appears that the government will center its case on proving that there was no necessity for Faubus to call out the national guard because no danger of violence existed. This is undoubtedly true but legally it leaves a loophole for Faubus and for future use of the guard against integration by other Southern governors. Would it have been legal to bar the Negro children if there really had been a danger of racist violence? This is the key point. **For Dixiecrat governors, who are hand in glove with the White Citizens Councils, can in the future easily arrange it so that there will be a real threat of violence. Then would forcible stopping of integration be legal?**

The Supreme Court has said very clearly in past decisions that it would not. But the administration's record so far of pulling its punches in the controversy with Faubus makes it possible that, though he may be finally ordered by the court to remove the troops, the legal as well as political precedents set by him will be of tremendous value to the racist officials of the Deep South.

NO PUNISHMENT

One thing is absolutely clear. The White House has not only helped Faubus save face, it has guaranteed him immunity from fine or imprisonment for all his illegal acts from Sept. 2 to Sept. 20, the date of the hearing. If he accepts the court ruling he will go scot free.

Eisenhower's inaction in the Little Rock case has been so flagrant that Nixon and others in the Republican Party who have hopes of winning the strategic Negro vote have become alarmed. They have prevailed on Eisenhower to counteract his audiences with racist Russell of Georgia and Faubus of Arkansas by meeting with Harlem Congressman Adam C. Powell and possibly a delegation of Negro leaders.

Dramatic expression of the Negro people's anger came from famed trumpet player Louis Armstrong. He told reporters Eisenhower was "two-faced" and had "no guts." He announced further that now he would not go on a State Department sponsored concert tour abroad. "The way they are treating my people in the South," he said, "the government can go to hell."

...Integration Slowed Down

(Cntinued from page 1)

that paper's lead article (Sept. 9): "This moderate timetable has been the result of an unstated agreement among many people— the President of the United States, the federal judges, Southern moderates and Northern moderates, the Texan leaders in Congress, and leaders of opinion in law, labor and religious circles.... In the Deep South the tacit timetable recognized that it would be a long, long time, perhaps a generation, before much progress would be made.... Obviously, if the Governor [Faubus] should succeed in maintaining his roadblock against the gradualist timetable, this could upset the 'deliberate speed' in many delicate areas.... Southern extremists would be encouraged .... And then extremists in the North would be demanding federal intervention."

Fighters for human equality in the here and now put no faith in a "timetable" which shows only a steady slowing down. They will not barter away the rights of 2,450,000 Negro children for "perhaps a generation" (that's 30 years). The demand must be to speed up integration not only in the border states but in the deep South itself and to do that by federal enforcement.

Negroes Jeer at Racists in South

Courage in the face of racist threats is not confined to the Negro youngsters in Little Rock, Nashville and Charlotte, N. C., whose pictures everyone has seen in the papers. It is a widespread attitude of the Negro people of the South. Consider these instances. When John Kasper, the white-supremacist psychotic, arrived in Winston-Salem, N. C., to agitate against school integration an audience of 200 assembled to hear him. One-half the audience was Negro. His speech was constantly interrupted by boos and jeers. Audience feeling apparently was summed up by a person in the crowd who yelled: "Let the dog speak."

In Charlotte, N. C., Kasper's audience was about 300, a third of whom were Negroes. In addition to the heckling, Kasper was challenged to a fight by Jewish members of the audience who resented his anti-Semitic as well as anti-Negro utterances. Also in Charlotte seven Negro youth, one of them a girl, turned up at a publicly advertised meeting of the White Citizens Council. Taken aback, the chairman told them: "You're not wanted here. We are not invited to your NAACP meetings. But if you want to stay and be criticized and insulted you can." Five stayed.

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New York 3, N.Y.

Serious Union Defeats

It is not only the Negro people who are being degraded by the Democratic Party's protection of the Southern Lynchocrats. Just recently, the International Union of Electrical Workers, headed by James B. Carey, former CIO National Secretary-Treasurer, complained to the NLRB that employers in the South are using "race hate propaganda" to defeat IUE organizing campaigns. Other major unions have suffered serious defeats in the past year in the South as a result of divisive racial propaganda put out by employers and their political agents.

The irony of this development is that Carey and other union leaders, who now whine about the use of race hatred to undermine unions in the South, are ardent political supporters of the Democratic Party, chief political arm of the Southern ruling class, its Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils.

Union leaders who support the Democratic Party in any way are guilty of downright treachery to the whole working class, white as well as Negro. The battle for civil rights and unionism in the South must be waged along the lines of a complete break from the Democratic Party.

A serious and effective struggle for the rights of labor and the Negro people is bound up with the establishment of an independent party of the working people.

THE MILITANT

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The Eliz. G. Flynn Campaign And Independent Politics

An Editorial

The Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Campaign Committee has just replied to the Aug. 29 communication of the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party proposing collaboration among working class candidates in the effort to qualify for the ballot in the municipal elections. (The SWP is running Joyce Cowley for Mayor, Morris Zuckoff for Comptroller, Lillian Kiezel for City Council President and Alvin Berman for Brooklyn Borough President. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a prominent Communist Party leader, is running for Councilman from the Lower East Side.)

The SWP also proposed that its campaign committee and the Flynn committee meet to discuss the possibility of advancing the principle of independent working class political action in the New York elections through their respective candidates.

The Flynn Committee in its letter rejects the proposals of the SWP "in view of the profound differences which exist between our candidate and the program of your organization." (See letter on this page.)

It is, of course, well known that profound differences exist between the Communist Party, which is supporting the Flynn campaign, and the Socialist Workers Party. We do not seek to minimize them. But it is not clear to us why these differences should be adduced as a reason for preventing joint action on so basic a civil-liberties issue as ballot rights for minority parties.

UNITY IN ACTION

If the two parties were not divided by profound programmatic differences, there would be no point to their continued separate existence. Unity in action on a civil liberties issue or any other concrete issue would be achieved through a common organization. As it is, the divided radical workers must find a way to act together on urgent questions and continue discussing and clarifying their differences at the same time.

The Flynn committee rejected not only the proposal for unified action in the petition campaign. It also refused to open discussions with the SWP election committee on prospects for advancing the concept of independent working class political action in the current campaign.

The problem of independent political action differs from the problem of unified action on the petition work. For the CP and SWP to jointly advance the concept of independent political action in the municipal elections does indeed require minimum agreement as to electoral policy.

The SWP believes that it is necessary to raise the banner of independent political action in the unions, among the Negro people struggling so valiantly for equal rights, among the all-too-many slum dwellers in New York City, among those who suffer poverty, discrimination and open-shop exploitation. In the absence of an independent labor slate supported by the trade unions, the SWP feels that the working class of New York can get an opportunity to register its opposition to the capitalist political machines by advancing socialist candidates.

Now what is the position of the Communist Party and the Flynn Campaign Committee on this question?

AMBIGUOUS STAND

In some of its utterances regarding the Flynn campaign, references are made to the need to use the candidacy of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn as a weapon in the struggle for independent political action of the working class and of the Negro people. On the other hand, in many other statements the candidacy is construed as "independent" pressure on the Democratic Party.

This poses point blank the question: What will be the slate of the Communist Party in the municipal elections? Will it be for a Flynn-Wagner ticket or a Flynn-Cowley ticket?

Every radical worker in New York City will want to know the answer to this question. In our opinion the socialist-minded workers are getting fed up with the self-defeating, blundering and misleading policy of dragging behind the official labor leadership in its support of the worst enemies of labor and the Negro people — the two capitalist parties. We don't think the radical workers in New York are going to accept a formula to support Wagner, who, as the Sept. 23 National Guardian put it "has against him a deadly record of witch hunts in city departments that has decimated the school teaching staffs."

The SWP proposed to discuss with the Flynn campaign committee how the two respective candidacies could serve to introduce the principle of working class political independence into the elections. **The Flynn committee has declined to discuss this question with the SWP; but in our opinion the question must and will be discussed by all those who want to see the capitalist political machines effectively challenged.**

Text of Flynn Committee's Reply to SWP Proposal

(The following is the text of a reply by the People's Rights Party to a Socialist Workers proposal for mutual aid in obtaining signatures to place candidates of the respective parties on the ballot. The reply, dated Sept. 14, is addressed to Carol Lynn, SWP campaign manager. It is signed by Evelyn Wiener and Albert Blumberg, co-chairmen of the People's Rights Campaign Committee. — Ed.)

"Dear Miss Lynn:

"The Elizabeth Gurley Flynn campaign committee thanks you for your communication regarding our campaign.

"We do not feel, however, that any agreement such as you propose, is possible in view of the profound differences which exist between our candidate and the program of your organization.

"At the same time, we are deeply conscious of the undemocratic obstacles in the way of qualifying independent and minority candidates. We are determined to do everything in our power to defend the rights of all such candidates to be on the ballot."

Defiant Mothers

A Nashville policeman escorting Negro Mothers and children into Fehr school which began token integration Sept. 9. Mrs. Grace McKinly (center) was later arrested for allegedly flashing a paring knife at the racist mob which stoned and spat upon her as she escorted her children to class.

Why Landlords Oppose Housing Anti-Bias Bill

By Morris Zuckoff

Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for
New York Comptroller

Under imminent pressure of this year's mayoralty election, the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs bill to ban discrimination in private housing, was introduced in the Committee on General Welfare of the City Council on May 21. Although filled with pious generalities in the main, it did represent a step forward. This was the first bill attempting to make discrimination in private housing a misdemeanor punishable by a $500 fine.

ZUCKOFF

The real-estate sharks immediately organized to stop the bill's passage, denouncing it as "socialistic." The United Taxpayers Party, representing the landlords, distributed a leaflet at a City Council hearing on July 30 attacking all proposed legislation to ban discrimination in private housing as an invasion of rights of private property. Behind this legislation they professed to see the spectre of Karl Marx and the Communist Manifesto hovering over City Hall.

Speaking for the Real Estate Board, James Andrews, in a debate printed in the New York Times on July 21, expressed the landlord view unambiguously. "We feel that it is extremely dangerous and extremely ill-advised to tamper with the right of a man in private enterprise to manage his own property." He added, "The landlord is a business man and he's interested in his customers. And he finds in general that he can finance better, can rent better, can do everything better with certain classes of people rather than with other classes."

The subtler, but no less bigoted mouthpieces of the real estate interests and financiers in New York, the Wall Street Journal, had this to say on July 29. "The practical trouble with this kind of thing [the proposed bill] is the assumption that you can change human nature by law... No law is going to eliminate slums because there are always going to be people—white, Negro, Puerto Rican or whatever—who will create slums, no matter how nice the dwellings they may be given..." Crude arguments or subtle rhetoric, it adds up to the same thing—no decent homes for minority groups. All attempts to stop discrimination are attacked as subversive of the "American way of life."

REVEALING FIGURES

In the meantime, actual discrimination can be measured by the fact that of 21 apartment projects built under New York's "limited dividend" law, only ten have from one to 35 Negro tenants and six have as few as two families. Two Title One projects completed in New York City, both cooperatives, have about 50 Negro families in one project out of 1600 units and 30 Negro families in another project out of 290 units.

Slum tenements, in which the majority of Negro and Puerto Rican families are forced to find homes, bring in as much as 33% return on investment each year. This, and not "human nature," is what perpetuates housing Jim-Crow and slums. The real estate sharks feed on the misery of the working people. Their cherished "right of a man in private enterprise to manage his own property" consists in being able to gouge the working people and to collect exorbitant rents from substandard housing. Only an organized struggle on the part of the working people in New York City can force the landlords to relinquish this blood-money.

Judges, N.Y. Police Give Aid To Boss-Racketeer Alliance

By Lillian Kiezel

Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for
Pres. of N. Y. City Council

"How do we get rid of Local 229, United Textile Workers Union, which is a phony union and has maintained a 'sweetheart' agreement with the employer for five years?" This is the question being asked by 65 to 70 underpaid employes of the J. Radley Metzger Co., Inc., a Bronx plastic firm, after a temporary anti-picketing injunction had been placed against them.

Most of the workers are Puerto Rican, and the majority are women. They have joined Local 485 of the International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO. The struggle to gain recognition from the Metzger Co. forced the workers to strike Aug. 21.

Pretending that it had signed a bona fide agreement with Local 229, the company argued that it could not negotiate with one union when it already had a contract with another. At the some time, it arrogantly declared that it was the workers' problem to clean up their union. The Metzger Co. sued for an injunction to prevent the workers from picketing its establishment.

WHAT JUDGE DISREGARDED

Irving Abramson, Counsel for Local 485 and Norman C. DeWeaver, Secretary-Treasurer of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists have both charged in court that Local 229 is dominated by Tony (Ducks) Corallo, labor racketeer.

On Sept. 6, Supreme Court Justice William C. Hecht, Jr. issued a temporary anti-picketing injunction against the Metzger workers. He disregarded the workers' charge that Local 229 was racket-ridden. The pretext he used for the injunction was that "stripped of all extraneous factors, this situation involves a struggle between rival unions for the privilege of representing plaintiffs (Metzger employes)."

LILLIAN KIEZEL

Following the injunction Abramson stated "The suggestion that the union rely on the NLRB [made by some of the workers' well-wishers] is unrealistic. The employer will drag the case through the board and through the courts for at least a year, during which time the employes involved will be exposed to the coercive influence of the racketeers."

Thus the only way left open to them is to strike. And the most effective weapon of a strike is picketing.

Last month at the time of the Senate Rackets Committee hearings, Mayor Wagner came out with a program he said was designed to clean the racketeering unions out of the city. The Aug. 8 New York Times reported that, "The Mayor declared that all city departments would cooperate in the campaign. He pointed out that the subpoena powers of the Department of Investigation would be used where necessary. The police would give protection against the possibility of reprisal and terrorist methods against picket lines of striking workers."

That was Aug. 8. Today, Mayor Wagner's police department is enforcing an anti-picketing injunction against workers fighting off labor racketeers.

The oppressed minorities of New York want fair play. They are doing everything in their power to get rid of the racketeers that are exploiting them in collusion with the employers. The fight is hard enough without having judges and cops to contend with besides the racketeer-employer gang.

NEED LABOR GOVT.

The Negro and Puerto Rican minorities — and indeed all the working people of New York — need a city government that will represent their interests. They need representatives elected by an independent Labor Party that would give genuine support to their aspirations.

A labor administration in a case such as the one involving the Metzger Co. workers would not interfere with their right to picket or strike. It would pay them unemployment benefits equal to full union wages. It would put all means of communication at the disposal of the workers and of the union of their choosing so as to give their struggle the widest publicity possible.

Win Stay in Seattle Deportation Case

By Ann Dorsey

SEATTLE — Sept. 14 — On Sept. 4, 1957, at 12:00 P.M., Mrs. Wolf who for nine years has been fighting against deportation on the alleged grounds that she was a member of the Communist Party in 1938-39, sat in her attorney's office. She was waiting for the telephone call from the San Francisco District Court of Appeals which was to decide whether or not to give her a stay of deportation long enough to argue the fact that she is really an American citizen. The decision meant the difference between immediate deportation and a chance to win her right to stay in the country that she has lived in for 40 years and where all her family lives. When the call came through and her attorney, John Caughlan announced that they had till Nov. 14 to argue for her citizenship, it was like getting a stay of execution.

The Washington Committee for Protection of Foreign Born feels that a significant part of this victory was due to the wonderful response that its appeals brought from many leading political figures in Canada. Among those who wrote protests to Attorney General Brownell was M. J. Coldwell, a national leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. He said: **"I would particularly draw to your attention that, apart altogether from the fact that Mrs. Wolf is alleged to have been a member of the Communist party in 1938-39, there was no legal bar against her membership in it at that time. I would particularly draw to your attention the fact that if she is deported to Canada after an absence of forty years she would have no rights to any of our old-age pension provisions. To deport her to Canada under these circumstances would be, I submit, a blot on the reputation of the United States as a democratic country. . . "**

Similar responses came from many other prominent Canadians including the assistant to the Premier and several cabinet ministers of the Province of Saskatchewan, and several members of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, to mention a few.

Mrs. Wolf's attorney is now trying to prove that Mrs. Wolf is legally a citizen of the United States. The action that must be taken by all those who are interested in defending civil liberties is to protest directly to Attorney General Brownell demanding that he stop all deportation proceedings immediately. If you belong to any organization, encourage the organization to issue a similar protest. Further, a nine-year court fight is a tremendous financial burden and now Mrs. Wolf must file a new legal brief. Any and all financial help will be greatly appreciated. **For further information write to: Washington Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Second and Cherry Building, Seattle 4, Washington.**

Hold Symposium In Los Angeles on Economic Outlook

William F. Warde, Chairman of the Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party, participated in a symposium, Sept. 16, arranged by the Searchers, a local non-partisan forum group, on "Is Depression Inevitable?" The other panel members were Commander Kramer of U.S. Naval Intelligence, Dr. Briggs, Dean of Law, Prof. Stratton who teaches economics at the University of Southern California, and Mr. Hoyt, representing the Republican County Committee.

Both Warde and Dean Briggs agreed that under capitalism a depression was unavoidable and that manifest signs of weakness in key sectors of the U.S. economy today indicated it was already in the making. The Naval officer and Republican spokesman, on the other hand, maintained that, although a "minor recession" was possible, a major depression was unthinkable and could be avoided by wise government policy. The Professor of Economics did not take too definite a position one way or the other.

The audience fired questions at the panelists for over an hour. The principal query raised was: why couldn't capitalism maintain its prosperity without wars or exorbitant military expenditures?

Letters from Readers

Reaction to Reuther Plan

Editor:

You might be interested in how Walter Reuther's wage-price proposal to the Auto corporations hit the workers at the GM assembly plant here. In the first place the workers were never consulted or notified about this proposal. There was no discussion on it beforehand. We heard about it from the newspapers after the letter had already been sent to the corporations. In the second place, I have not heard a single favorable comment about the plan among the workers here. Even the officers of the local, who are Reuther supporters generally, have been silent on it.

There has also been no discussion on it since the proposal was made. The local officers did pass out copies of the special issue of the United Auto Worker which was devoted entirely to the proposal, but they didn't comment on it. At the last local meeting they showed a 15 minute educational movie put out by the International Union. The movie was announced as dealing with the proposal. It actually contained no direct reference to Reuther's proposal, but dealt generally with wages, prices and profits. There was no discussion on the movie or the proposal. None had been arranged for.

Some workers here are really worried about this latest Reuther gimmick. "There goes our shorter work week," is one comment I heard. You hear a lot of talk to the effect that it's hard enough to pay bills on what we're getting now without Reuther offering to cut down bargaining demands.

But the most common attitude on this proposal is wariness and indifference. As one worker put it: "'The Great White Father' is at it again."

R. S.
Linden, N. J.

A Fighting Program — Key Issue Before British Labor Party

By Peter Fryer

Special London Correspondent

On the eve of the British Labor Party's annual conference the Gloucester-by-election result has naturally heartened the party and discomfited the Tory Government. Labor retained the seat, and the Tory vote—in a constituency where there are not a few retired colonels and such-like die-hards—sagged by a cool 10,000 votes. If this fall in the Conservative vote is at all typical (and other by-elections this past year or so suggest that it is) then the Labor Party can confidently look forward to a majority of at least a hundred seats at the next General Election.

So far, so good. Morale is high. The will to fight is there. The Tory Government is hated by a majority of the people, and a good section of traditional Tory supporters are so disgusted with such things as the vicious Rent Act (the Landlords' Charter, as it is called) that they are not prepared to turn out and vote for their party. The ball, one would think, is in Labor's possession.

LACK LEADERSHIP

But can they run with it? Or will they win the next election in spite of themselves, as it were? For the outstanding thing about the Labor Party as its delegates prepare for their conference is that it lacks two fundamental things: leadership and policy. It shares these shortcomings with the Trades Union Congress, whose General Council has revealed itself to be every bit as colorless as Hugh Gaitskell. Colorless — and spineless. For the great paradox of the Labor scene in Britain at the moment (and it is a paradox which holds the seeds of possible tragedy and bitter lessons if Labor fails to set its house in order in time) is that, whereas the workers grow more combative almost from week to week, the Right-wing leaders of the Labor Party and TUC together hold aloft a banner with the motto "We don't want to fight" inscribed on it.

Herein lies the greatest source of Tory strength and resilience. It is, alas, the attitude of the Labor leaders which enables the Tories to take such a blow as Gloucester almost in their stride. Macmillan's basic strategy is to use the Right-wing Labor leaders as instruments as far as possible; by themselves they could not damp down, deceive or defeat a mass movement; but what they could not do themselves the spinelessness and lack of policy of the Right-wing will do for them, as in the General Strike year of 1926. **This strategy enables a discredited government to keep power in its grasp in face of the rising tide of industrial militancy and political hostility.**

"BUTSKELLISM"

Hours and hours of words, many of them fighting words, will alternately lull and galvanize the conference delegates next month. But the test of a leadership is whether at moments of opportunity it knows how to match words with deeds. On present showing Gaitskell and his colleagues will fail to pass this test. Nor is this surprising. Their "Butskellism" sometimes makes it difficult to decide whether the "socialist" Gaitskell or the Tory Home Secretary Butler is more to the Right. In addition their inability to lead and their flabbiness are the hallmarks of British social-democracy.

What is still more unfortunate is that this dismal picture of political impotence and betrayal is not confined to the Right wing. The Bevanites, too, are afflicted with this same crisis of policy and leadership. While the rank and file have embarked on the stormy seas of struggle, the Bevanite ship has seemed becalmed. The fundamental weakness of Bevanism is that it confines struggle to the Parliamentary arena and the top committees of the Labor Party. The workshop and the streets scarcely exist for it. Since 1952 Aneurin Bevan has been leading an army with his fiery, spell-binding tongue. But where has he led them? Like the Grand Old Duke of York in the nursery-rhyme, he has led them, not once but many times, up the top of the hill—and then down again! This has been shown at annual conference after annual conference. It is doubtful whether the next conference is going to be an exception.

Nor do the 'new boys' who stand behind Bevan show any signs of measuring up to the tasks which confront the Left. They are adept at making vague and woolly speeches — speeches which show some of them to be somewhat to the Right of Bevan himself.

The essence of the Bevanite position today is anxiety to get a Labor majority in Parliament as quickly as possible, even if it means shelving for a time—for quite a long time, perhaps—such basic planks in the socialist platform as nationalization. There is bewilderment in the constituencies, among readers of the Bevanite weekly Tribune, at that paper's failure to conduct a proper discussion of what Labor's policy should be in the next General Election. For two years Tribune has been promising such a discussion. But it is becoming more and more clear that the Bevanites prefer not to be committed to a genuine socialist policy.

This readiness to water down socialism in the hope of getting back in office as soon as possible is one side of a coin whose reverse is the "Left" demagogy of Transport and General Workers' Union leader Frank Cousins. When Mr Cousins' members take his "Left" speeches seriously and struggle for higher pay— as the London busmen may well do before long—he calmly tells them not to be so "irresponsible." Like the Bevanites, the Cousins type of trade union boss has one nostrum: a new Labor Government —not because of the socialist measures it may introduce, but because it puts the said trade union leaders in a better negotiating position. Here is the nub of the sell-out. Here is the real reason why Right-wing and "Left"-wing alike have been willing to see the traditional Labor demand for nationalization abandoned in the new policy statement, **Industry and Society**, in favor of a milk-and-dividends scheme for buying out capitalists.

DISQUIET IN RANKS

There is growing disquiet among the rank and file, who will not easily abandon the real socialist position: nationalization of the basic industries with workers' control. This gap between leaders of different shades and the ordinary members of the party gives Marxists within the party new responsibilities and new opportunities. Though as yet few in number, British Marxists have the tremendous advantage of theoretical clarity. Their patient work is now entering a new and richly rewarding stage, in which the correctness of their analysis is more and more frequently and more and more effectively demonstrated by the workers' own experience at different levels of the class struggle. There is no short cut. But the juggling and backstairs deals of the reformist politicians will assuredly help to convince the British workers that their real hope lies in the creation of a fighting leadership. The building of this leadership is the pivotal problem on whose solution every other problem ultimately turns.

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